

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## TO THE YEOMEN OF HEREFORDSHIRE.

*On the question relating to South America, with a look back at the conduct of Parson Smythies, Lawyer Davies, and others, at the last County Meeting.*

Kensington, 16th Dec. 1823.

GENTLEMEN,

You will ask, perhaps, what the conduct of such fellows as SMYTHIES and DAVIES can have to do with the question relating to SOUTH AMERICA. But, as I showed, some time back, that the conduct of Daddy COKE and SUFFIELD had had, in all likelihood, something to do in causing Cadiz to fall into the hands of the French; so I shall, I think, show you, that the conduct of PARSON SMYTHIES and LAWYER DAVIES may have something to do in the present great question relating to

South America. Some character in SHAKESPEARE exclaims, "How *poor a thing* may do a noble office!" But, it is not less true, and the occurrence is much more frequent, that the most despicable amongst mankind, the most wretched of human beings, in point of intellect, may, from a combination of unfortunate circumstances, be able to do most tremendous mischief. You are not, therefore, to suppose it impossible that SMYTHIES and DAVIES and the rest of the mean crew of that day, unable to do any thing with regard to this great question of South America; you are not to conclude thus, merely because the men are so contemptible.

I shall lay before you the state of the matter, with regard to this, now important, part of the world. I shall show you the difficulties in which this nation is placed with regard to South America. I shall, then, look back at some of the causes of those difficulties; and then I shall, I think, bring you to

perceive that mischief, and mischief of great magnitude, too, can be effected by creatures like SMYTHIES and DAVIES and COKE and SUFFIELD; especially when these are prompted, aided and supported by a noisy, a bullying, a base and lying press, like that of London, which, about this time twelve-month, was busily engaged in endeavours to destroy me, and every other man, who would have made the nation able to keep the French out of Spain, and which has now, of late, (and again, also, for its base and selfish purposes), been engaged in propagating a mass of lies, exaggerations, and abominations, that have, at last, *actually impeded the course of justice*, and, in all probability, has screened, for a while, at least, men charged with the most horrid of crimes. This atrocious press has done more mischief to this kingdom, within the last few years, than the press has ever done good in all the parts of the world put together. This scoundrel press, which told the English people, that I (while absent in America), had been tried and punished for libelling that Government also; this scoundrel press, which, about two years ago, caused my own son, who was then at New York, to

read in all the American newspapers, that his father was keeping a butcher's shop in Kensington; this scoundrel press, which has, within the last fifteen months, brought thousands of families to beggary, by the lies which it has published, respecting the affairs of Spain; this scoundrel press began last year about this time, that attack upon me, and upon my proposition for reducing the interest of the Debt, which attack has done more harm, I again say it, than the whole of the press of the world has ever done good from its first invention to the present hour. However, I shall have to speak of the monstrous thing again, by-and-by: let us, if you please, first proceed with the other part of my subject.

You have observed, perhaps, that, it is agreed, on all hands, that the independence of the Spanish Colonies of South America is a thing which this country ought anxiously to desire. You have observed, that this is a point insisted upon by all the newspapers, even by the sanguinary New Times, the Editor of which (STODART) was Walter's associate in the Old Times, when that bloody-minded newspaper contained a justification of the horrible wretches who murdered the



Protestants at Nismes. Even this STODART is for the independence of South America; because it would, he thinks, be conducive to the prosperity of our manufactures. The COURIER is even clamorous for this independence; in which he is joined by that which is certainly by far the most important of all the daily publications; namely, the *Morning Chronicle*. They all agree, that it will be most calamitous if South American independence be not established.

This press is, in this case, right upon wrong grounds: its wishes are right enough; but its reasons for the wishes are good for very little. It is always grubbing its dirty nose about after *manufactures* and *mines* and *loans*. Some of the impudent vagabonds, calling themselves *patriots*, in the Spanish Colonies, have already been mortgaging the land and the labour of their country, to the vile Jews and Jobbers of London. The Jews and Jobbers own the far greater part of this execrable press. The press, therefore, is for *South American independence*, as it is called; because, if the Colonies be restored to Spain; or, rather, if they be taken out of the hands of the unprincipled vagabonds, who are mortgaging them to our Jews,

those Jews will lose the money that they have lent to the vagabonds, as they have already lost that which they lent to the jacobins: I beg pardon of the jacobins; I mean the "*patriots*" of Old Spain.

Now, *I also wish* for the independence of Spanish America. I must stop here to explain once for all, that, I use the word South America, because it saves time, But *Mexico*, which contains three-fifths of the population of the whole of the Colonies of Spain in America, which, in fact, is equal in population and equal in riches, to Old Spain itself; this Colony; this great and rich country, is, indeed, in *North America*, notwithstanding, we always speak of it as being in South America. Therefore, in speaking of South American independence, I must, of course, be understood as including *Mexico*. In the Register of November 22, vol. 48, page 468, and four lines from the bottom of the page, from mere error, the word *Africa* was inserted, instead of *Asia*, the context would show what was meant; but the error is so material that I think it right to mention it.

*I also wish* for the independence of South America. It would be impossible for me to wish for the

same thing that this infamous press wishes for, unless I wished for it, for a *different reason*. Very different is the reason in this case. So far from wishing for South American independence as the means of fattening Jews and Jobbers, I wish for it, as the means of preventing this country from becoming a poor contemptible feeble thing; that very thing which it is the interest of Jews and Jobbers to make it.

We ought never to look at South America, without keeping, at the same time, North America constantly in our eye. Things are in a very different state with regard to America, all taken together, from that in which they were only ten years ago. This country must become a little and contemptible power, unless it can openly, boldly, and as matter of course, always speak of itself as the *mistress of the seas*. There must be no mock modesty about it; no pretended love of peace with all the world; no sham liberality; and, in short, nothing that shall lead our Government to speak of the great ocean but as of the dominion of England. No necessity to thrust this impudently and boldly forward upon all occasions; but this must be maintained, and *openly* maintained, too; or, the

*sinking* of this country will be a hundred times more rapid than that of her rise. This is my firm conviction; and if I were a Minister, this should be the basis of all my policy.

Now, within these last twenty years, or thereabouts, we have, in the first place, by commercial greediness; next by as villanous a little war as ever was carried on in this world; by eighteen months of as disgraceful war as ever stained the annals of a country, we have caused the United States to become really a great maritime power. This dear *daughter* of ours, as the hero of the inkstand would call her; this liberty-loving daughter, who places upon her coins the eagle of her wild woods, and the picture of the mountain nymph, sweet Liberty; this dear liberty-loving daughter of ours, has thrown herself, neck and heels (I mean nothing immodest), into the congenial arms of the Russian Czar! There, then, are they two ready at any moment, to stretch every point for the purpose of lessening the power of England. The wise COURIER observed the other night, in remarking upon the Russian Minister's speech to the King of Spain, that it was *curious* to observe, Russia, who, till of late, was



hardly known in Europe, now taking a prominent part in all the affairs of even the South of Europe.

*Curious* enough this may be; but it will be much more curious to see this same power take a prominent part in all the affairs of South America and of the West Indies! The Czar could not do this were it not for the United States; but, with the aid of the United States, the Czar can; and, curious as the *Courier* looks upon its discovery as being, would it not be much more curious, *Eclair-Daniel*, if the question of the *right to search* American ships were to be *settled by soap-and-candle-eating soldiers marching into Hanover*? This would be curious, indeed. Nothing more curious, perhaps, ever happened; but many things much less to be expected have taken place within the last twenty years.

France, once well assured of this sort of support, will proceed unremittingly, and even hastily, to prepare for the recovery of those territories of which we stripped her during the late wars, and at the late Peace. If, therefore, we do not find out *something* new, something which we did not before possess, to balance against this new and great maritime power

in America, which, observe, is *constantly increasing*, though it makes little show and no noise; if we do not find out this, we must sink under the combination of force, which is now getting into motion as fast as possible.

Something has, luckily for us, come and offered itself to us; namely, South America; and more than all the rest of it, MEXICO. Here are the means of doing all that we want done. Here are the means of putting an iron bit into the mouth of the United States. Here is a great country abounding in riches, and so placed in the map of the world, as to be able to render us the most efficient service, while our assistance would be necessary to its safety and prosperity; a country producing numerous valuable things which we want, and wanting numerous things which we are so eager to dispose of. The short statement is this: In ten years after the establishment of the independence of MEXICO, the *Custom-House receipts* of the United States, *would be diminished one-half in amount!* Then, one of two things would happen: Their *maritime force must dwindle to nothing*, or they must *lay on heavy internal taxes!* To us, no matter which: but, one of the two must

be the inevitable consequence of the independence of MEXICO; that is to say, mind, if we at once and boldly make a stand for Mexican independence, and do not *sneak* about, wheedling and lying like Jews, and huxtering for pennies of profit, instead of throwing down a glove and challenging our enemies to combat, for fame and for power.

I am aware that my friends in America will complain against me, on this score; will say, "what are become of all your professions of *friendship for us*?" My answer is, friendship for you is one thing, and it may be right in me to indulge in it, as long as this can be done without neglecting to do that which is due to my own country. I never deceived you. When living amongst you, I wrote my Petition to the PRINCE REGENT, (re-published in Register of 8th November last,) Mr. HULME, who had become a CITIZEN of America, and to whom I showed the petition, thought that to send it to the Government in England would be a breach of hospitality. He was, at that time, going to Washington, where the Congress was assembled. I gave him a copy of the petition *that he might show it to the Government at Washington*; in order that no man should

have to say of me, that I had acted in an underhand manner towards the country, from whom I had found protection from the Acts of SIDMOUTH and Company. What effect this communication probably had, we may see by-and-by. But, at present, let me proceed to observe that neither I nor any one belonging to me, ever did any one act by which we could contract, even an implied allegiance to the United States. There are fifty men, fifty of you Americans, whom I respect and love as much as I do any fifty Englishmen, my own kindred excepted. I dare say that that which I am going to mention has happened with regard to hundreds of Americans and me; but if I were to sit down to think, I could write down the names of fifty in an hour. These have all expressed, at different times, their anxious wish that I would become, what they call, a Citizen of the United States. I have always objected, and, very frequently, in words something like these: "No; it may be my lot, before I die, to be so situated, as to make me a traitor to my own country, or the suggestor of measures hostile to yours; and how could I suggest such measures, if I, well known as I am, and always must be, were once to take an



"oath of allegiance to your coun-  
try, and at the same time take an  
oath to abjure my own country?"

Such, my friends in America, was my conduct; and this is notorious. Therefore, you cannot accuse me of now acting contrary to my former professions. My friendship for your country is now as great as it ever was. I wish you as much happiness, and even as much power, as you can possibly enjoy, *without injury or danger to England*. But, my friends, if you talk of professions, in what company do I find you? I find you in the arms of the Emperor ALEXANDER. You are grown, I suppose, much too polite now-a-days to call any one a despot or a tyrant, as you, even in your Constitution, call poor old King GEORGE; you are grown too polite to talk of despots; and I remember that that petty republican despot, Judge MACKEAN, indicted me, six-and-twenty years ago (though the Grand Jury threw out the bill), for having called even the old King of Spain a despot. You, I say, are doubtless grown too polite to call any body a despot; and you would, of course, say that I were a libeller, if I so called your dearly beloved ally, the Russian Czar. But, he not being a despot, you

must leave off railing against despots altogether: he being your friend. In England, I trust in God, it will be quite natural that you should meet with an enemy. Away with all the soft nonsense about "*Daughter States*" and "*Sister Republics*": here are you, the first-born of the family of liberty, as you call yourselves, fast locked in the embraces of the invader and conqueror of Poland, and of the defender, that was to be, of the Greeks! We shall see by-and-by, perhaps, what part your envoy in Spain has recently acted, in conjunction with Pozzo DI BORGO. But, in the meanwhile, the notoriety of your league with the Czar is quite enough to exonerate me from professions, if I had ever made them, of friendship for the United States.

Yeomen of Herefordshire, I now return to my opinion, as to the effect which the independence of MEXICO would have upon the revenue and the power of the United States. I could push this argument a great deal further; but, at present, this is far enough. The danger to this country at present is through the United States. The hostility of France and Spain, and also the hostility of Russia, we have. It is cordial towards us. They long to bite



us ; but they cannot bite without teeth, and the United States are those teeth. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for us to draw or to blunt those teeth. To do this, we have only the means which I have pointed out ; and those means must be made use of openly, boldly, and without delay.

In order to show you what are the real designs of the powers of which I have been speaking : namely of Russia, France and Spain (who are one), and of the United States, I shall beg leave to press you to pay attention to certain documents that I am about to insert. They may all have passed under your eye in the newspapers ; but so large and so heterogeneous is the mass of matter in which they are buried, that it is not to be expected, that they have been distinguished by one man out of fifty. †

In former Numbers of the Register I have noticed several articles published in the French papers, relative to the Spanish Colonies, reprobating, in strong terms, the apparent design of England to acknowledge their independence. Our base and stupid paper, called the Courier, seems to have been appointed to carry on the dispute with the French journals. At last, the Courier in-

formed its readers, that the Ministers *had informed some of the fellows in the city of London*, that the French Government had given to our Government the most positive assurances, that *France would not assist Spain in the recovery of her Colonies.*

Since this, the French papers have put forth *nothing of their own* upon the subject ; but, have very faithfully, copied into their columns that which the *Spanish papers* say upon the subject. Oh ! Monsieur ! I recognise you there ! *Spanish papers*, indeed ! There are not, and you know it very well, Monsieur, any Spanish papers at all. There are papers in the Spanish language, to be sure ; but you know that the ideas all come out of the heads of Frenchmen. It is impossible to blame you, Monsieur, there are silver and gold mines at stake ; and cotton and indigo and hides ; and I do not forget the museums of Paris, and CASTLEREAGH'S treaty about the tribute and the frontier towns. I have not the conscience to *blame* you, Monsieur. But pray do not talk any more about Spanish papers !

Gentlemen of Herefordshire, this device ; this changing of the channel of the controversy, only shows that the French are not yet



in a state in which they think it prudent openly to avow their intentions with regard to South America. He must be a stupid man, indeed, who does not clearly see that there can be no newspaper published in Spain, without the approbation of the French. The *Madrid Gazette* is, in fact, the only newspaper. Madrid is garrisoned by French troops. The French commandant is, in fact, the complete master of Madrid. The King of France is the real Sovereign of Spain; and his generals are his viceroys in that country. Not being prepared openly to declare their intention with regard to South America; and, having thought it prudent to give assurances to our Government such as those above-mentioned; this being the case with the French, they set on their paper in Spain to talk to us upon the subject. A little while ago this paper told us, that the men who call themselves patriots in South America would, upon the approach of a respectable force, melt away, just as they had in Naples and in Spain. Our *Courier* made but a very lame answer to this; and the Spaniards did, in fact, triumph in the controversy.

Something much more to the point, however, has taken place

since, as will be seen by the following article, which, as you will see, is taken from the French papers into the English; but, first, from the Spanish into the French. I have not the smallest doubt of the article having been actually written at Paris, sent to Madrid and published there, and then, as we have seen, re-published at Paris. I beg you, Gentlemen of Herefordshire, to read this article with attention; and I shall show you by-and-by, how even creatures so contemptible as SYMTHIES and DAVIES may have contributed in the producing of those great dangers to this country, which now appear to be at hand.

“PARIS, Dec. 9.—The *Gazette* of Madrid, as we have already mentioned, has lately replied, with as much conciseness as energy, to the interminable declamation of the English Journals in favour of the independence of the Spanish Colonies. The answer of the Castilian Editor is terminated by an argument which, by its force and justice, will strike all sound minds—“You pretend,” says he, to the English politicians, “that South America owes us obedience no longer, because we cannot afford it protection. Well, then, let it be admitted that Ireland should say to you to-morrow, ‘Far from protecting me, you press upon me with a tyranny the more frightful, because it is founded upon intolerance.’—The Irish Catholics are treated with a rigour which no Christian power exercises against the Jews. Deprived of all

“ their political, and even of a part  
 “ of their civil rights, these men,  
 “ who comprise five-sixths of the  
 “ population of the island, are, in  
 “ many respects, in a *state of slavery*.  
 “ What would you have to object  
 “ to them, if, with your own argu-  
 “ ments in their hands, they should  
 “ thus address you: ‘ We declare  
 “ ourselves independent. As we  
 “ are the strongest, our independ-  
 “ ence already exists *de facto*,  
 “ and to-morrow it shall exist by  
 “ right. Europe—all mankind—  
 “ will applaud our deliverance,’ &c.  
 “ &c.—ending with all the fine  
 “ phrases which have been put  
 “ forth, and which are still put  
 “ forth, by the newspapers of Lon-  
 “ don?—What will the latter re-  
 “ ply? Nothing, we repeat; or only  
 “ abuse, which is less than nothing.  
 “ In the present instance they will  
 “ conceive themselves very plea-  
 “ sant in calling the Spaniards the  
 “ Dons. But will this nickname  
 “ destroy the weighty *force of the*  
 “ *analogy between Ireland, Mexico,*  
 “ *and Peru?* The Spanish writers  
 “ are not so low as to call you  
 “ Roast-Beefs, or John Bulls, by  
 “ way of demonstrating that it is  
 “ ridiculous, and even odious, to  
 “ make yourselves champions of  
 “ the people of the New World,  
 “ when, at a few leagues distance,  
 “ you place under a yoke of iron,  
 “ an island, the inhabitants of  
 “ which obey the same King, and  
 “ fight under the same colours with  
 “ yourselves.—Of all the London  
 “ Journals, *The Courier* is that which  
 “ clamours the most in defence of the  
 “ cause of the American insurgents.  
 “ Will it be forgotten, that, in the  
 “ course of the present summer, it  
 “ has happened to it more than  
 “ once to say in so many words—  
 “ ‘ *The state of Ireland is so critical*  
 “ *and so alarming, that to-morrow*  
 “ *we may hear that that island is*  
 “ *lost to us.*’—When one’s house is  
 “ in flames, is it not more prudent  
 “ to labour to *extinguish the fire,*

“ than to add fuel to the conflagra-  
 “ tion of your neighbours?’ ”

Those of you who have done  
 me the honour to read my letter  
 to Mr. CANNING, published on the  
 22d November, will be ready to  
 believe that this Spanish writer  
 had that letter lying before him  
 when he wrote this article. In  
 that letter, I, addressing myself  
 to Mr. Canning, asked him what  
 we should say, if France, Spain,  
 America and Russia, were to  
 talk of *acknowledging the inde-*  
*pence of Ireland!* I then  
 went on to show the analogy of  
 the two cases, Ireland and Mexico.  
 The passage in my letter to  
 Mr. CANNING, is so much like  
 this paragraph of the Spanish  
 writer that it is really necessary  
 to show that the latter was not  
 borrowed from the former. My  
 letter was published in London  
 on the 22d November; it must go  
 to Spain by the way of France.  
 It could not leave London until  
 Tuesday, the 25th November.  
 It could not get to Paris before  
 the 28th November; and it  
 could not go to Madrid, and be  
 published there, and come back  
 again and be printed at Paris,  
 and all in the space of *ten days*.

It is certain, therefore, that  
 the same thing struck the Spanish



writer at Madrid, that struck me in London. This coincidence proves that two men, at a great distance from one another; two men of different nations, writing in different languages; animated by wishes directly opposed to each other, had, in consequence of looking at one and the same state of things, the same thoughts forced into their minds. The subject, Gentlemen, is of the very greatest importance. For this reason, and in order that you may see how much of this matter I understand, I will here copy the passage to which I have alluded, from my letter to Mr. CANNING.

"If France, Spain, America, and Russia, were to affect to talk of the independence of Ireland, should we not make the very heavens ring with expressions of resentment? And yet, Sir, would this be much more outrageous, than for us to talk about acknowledging the independence of Mexico; a country containing a population twice as numerous as that of Ireland; a country as clearly owing allegiance to the King of Spain as Ireland owes allegiance to our King. Ours is the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and FERDINAND is the King of Spain and the Indies. Our King sends a Viceroy to Ireland: the King of Spain sends a Viceroy to Mexico. It is true that some persons in Mexico have raised up commotion against their King, and have sent agents to

get themselves acknowledged and to get succours from foreign States; but have there been, and are there, wanting commotions in Ireland! And have there been wanting Irishmen to go to foreign countries, to endeavour to prevail upon them to acknowledge the independence of Ireland, and to send her succours: nay, have such acknowledgments been wanting, and have such succours been refused! If you make war for the independence of Mexico, you will, at any rate, be in no want of precedent, as long as the expedition of the 'Jacobin' General HOCHÉ shall make part of the history of Ireland!"

When you consider, Gentlemen, that it is impossible that the Spanish writer could have seen this before he wrote this paragraph, you cannot fail to be struck with the wonderful concurrence in these two separate views of the same subject. Indeed, it has always appeared to me that the French and Russians would not fail to put Ireland forward, whenever our Government should choose to talk of reasons for acknowledging the independence of South America; and that man must be ignorant or unprincipled, in the extreme, who can pretend, for one moment, that the South Americans have ever had a hundredth part of the grounds of complaint against Spain that the people of Ireland have had for more than two centuries.

But, have we not, staring us in the face, this horrible fact? That hundreds of persons in Ireland are now *selling themselves into bondage* to serve the South Americans? Monstrous hypocrisy, then, it must be to talk of oppressions exercised by Spain upon the people of South America; to talk of interfering for the purpose of obtaining liberty for the South Americans, while the Irish people are so treated by us, as to be glad to sell themselves into slavery to those very persons whom we pretend that we wish to make free! A memorable thing for the world to have upon record: the people of Ireland taxed in order to send forth fleets and armies to rescue the South Americans from thralldom; and the South Americans purchasing, at the same time, the people of Ireland for slaves! To talk of war, with Ireland in its present state, can be little short of madness. France, Spain, Russia, and America, know the state of Ireland as well as we do; and, in calculating their means of annoying us, they do not, you may be assured, ever leave Ireland out of the account.

In answer to the above very intelligible threat of the French writer, I call him French, for as to the things being published at

Madrid, it amounts to nothing; in answer to this threat, the Courier has said nothing; and, mark, it *has not even inserted the article from the French paper!* This shows you, Gentlemen, how ticklish the subject is—this shows you that our Government felt the cut. Conscious guilt made the base Courier silent; and, if it had not been for the *Morning Chronicle*, I, who do not receive the French papers, never should have known that such an article had been published. It is of great importance for you to observe, that the ministerial papers have wholly suppressed this article. They have been afraid to let it be seen. They are afraid that it should be read in any part of the kingdom, and particularly in Ireland; and well they may; for it amounts to nothing short of a threat, that, if you declare South America independent; if you throw out an invitation for it to cast off the allegiance of its Sovereign, we will talk, at least, of the independence of Ireland; and will thus shake your state to the very centre. The Spanish papers spoke some time ago of these friends of South American independence, as jacobins and radicals. They have discovered that it is the ministerial journals that are most eager for



South American independence. They, therefore, now see the thing in the true light.

From what has been said, you must, I think, clearly perceive what are the views of France with regard to this great matter. It evidently is not her design nor her interest to push things on in haste; or at least not to do this openly; but, at the same time, we may be well assured, that she will be at work in all manner of ways that are not visible to us. What I have always looked upon; that is to say, since the invasion and subjugation of Spain. What I have always looked upon as certain is, a league between France, Spain, Russia, and the United States, to force the colonies back into the quiet possession of Old Spain; that is to say, into the possession of France. The motives of France are, God knows, clear enough. As to Spain, we need not speak of the motive. Russia has two motives; one to prevent the existence of an example of successful revolution: but, another, and a much more powerful one, to *lessen the maritime power of England*; and to cause the dominion of the seas to be in some sort shared in by herself. To effect this, the United States is regarded as her principal

agent; and I have shown you, in the former part of this letter, that the independence of South America, once well established, the maritime power of the United States would very shortly become next to nothing.

Of all the parties, therefore, these United States are the most deeply interested in preventing the success of the South American revolutionists. And yet, (Good God!) I read a little while ago, in the EXAMINER Newspaper, an observation of this sort: "Our Government does not appear to be hearty in the cause of South American independence. The United States must therefore come forward, and SETTLE THE MATTER AT A SINGLE BLOW!" Not quite so enthusiastic as this, has the Morning Chronicle been; and, indeed, it has, of late, expressed but little hope of aid from the United States. But, for a long while, it persevered in holding up those States, as the infallible defenders of the independence in question.

Now, Gentlemen of the County of Hereford, you, who heard me so basely caluminated by SMYTHIES and DAVIES, and so stupidly opposed by CHARLTON and CLIVE, which latter conjurors had

no objection to the propositions, but merely to *birth-place* and *place of residence* of the man that made them; you, Gentlemen, who witnessed this scene of emptiness, have, perhaps, read of late, my opinions relative to what would, in case of war for the independence of South America, be the *conduct of the United States*. I have invariably said that they would be against us. When I have been reminded, or when I have had to state, that they *had already acknowledged* the independence of the South American States, and that they acknowledged the independence of the State of Buenos Ayres *a great while ago*. When I have had to state this, I have always said, that the moment France and Russia came forward *against* South American independence, that moment would the United States UNACKNOWLEDGE, all the States that they had acknowledged.

Now, Gentlemen of Herefordshire, you who heard me calumniated by SMYTHIES and DAVIES, and who heard them *bellying out, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the noble Lord-Lieutenant, to prevent my being heard in reply*; you who heard

this, will, I hope, do me the favour to attend to what I am now going to state; for, Gentlemen, here you will see the cause, and the not very distant cause of the deep disgrace of England, or of a war, the issue of which, no man can tell.

You read, Gentlemen, not long ago, a Petition to the Prince Regent, which I sent home from America. It was first published in England, late in the year 1817, and it was dated in Long Island on the 17th October of that year. I had not escaped more than six months from Sidmonth's Power-of-Imprisonment Bill, and the fetters and dungeons put into immediate and extensive use by that bill. I was smarting under the effects of that bill; I looked back upon my wasted and destroyed property; and the ruffian London newspapers had followed me, spreading all over the Continent the falsest and basest of accusations against me. The persecution was marked by numerous traits of peculiar malignity. It required great soberness of reflection not to make me hate the very name of England, and not to make me wish to see her wholly blotted out.

I, however, did not yield to the angry feelings; but suppressed them; forgot the wicked tyrants



that I had left behind me, and their base hirelings of the press : or, at least, so far forgot them, as to resolve still to serve my country to the utmost of my power. I saw clearly what the United States had done with regard to South America ; I saw what they were doing ; what they intended to do ; and I saw all their motives. I saw what the interest of England would have made her do, and, in the petition above-mentioned (re-published in the Register of the 8th Nov. last), I clearly developed all the secrets of the subject.

In another part of this letter, I have told you, that, while my petition was crossing the sea from America to England, a copy of it was at Washington, where it was read (at least, I believe so), by many members of Congress, and by the members of the Executive Government. The petition, you will have observed, most earnestly prays the Prince Regent to *acknowledge the independence of South America* ; and it exposes the conduct of the United States, in *not acknowledging* them, and in having passed a law hostile to them. This petition produced not the smallest effect upon the Government of England, who by the hands of that great statesman of the name of HARROWBY or RYDER,

was, at that same time, busily engaged in bringing in a bill, called the "*Foreign Enlistment Bill* ;" that is to say, a bill to prevent the South American States from receiving the *voluntary assistance of Englishmen in gaining their independence* ! Curious occurrence ! There was my petition, in one of my "*Twopenny trashes*," beseeching the Prince Regent to acknowledge the South American States, while he could do it with safety, and without the risk of war : there was my petition praying for this acknowledgment, and showing how it would *curtail the growing power of the United States*. And there was, at the very same time, that great statesman, the profound and foreseeing HARROWBY, bringing in a Bill to prevent Englishmen from assisting the South Americans to gain their independence ; and, (pray mark it, Gentlemen), in answer to Lord HOLLAND, who opposed the Bill, his cogent argument was, that it was **JUST SUCH A BILL AS HAD BEEN PASSED BY THE UNITED STATES !** Oh God ! just such a bill as suited the Fox, and, *therefore*, must be most excellent for the Geese !

If, however, the great statesman HARROWBY, and his *equally great colleagues*, paid no attention to my

petition ; if they, of whom the profound CASTLEREAGH was the leader, thought it infinitely beneath them to think about what was contained in "*Twopenny trash*," the Congress at Washington, did not think thus. They did two things. They altered the law, of which I complained in my petition ; and *they did it, avowedly*, in consequence of my complaint, alledging, however, that they had passed the law in a great hurry, and at ten o'clock at night. They named me in the debate. Some of them spoke very slightly of me ; but there was no man who opposed the alteration of the law, which law, you will observe, is embodied in my petition, above mentioned.

But, besides this, the Government at Washington sent, soon afterwards, a parcel of COMMISSIONERS to the South American States, in order to ascertain whether they were so far advanced in gaining their independence, as for it to be *prudent for the United States to acknowledge those South American States*. This was, you will observe, in the latter part of the year 1817, or along during the first months of the next year. Mark, now, Gentlemen. English troops were then still in France. Old Spain was in the most crippled and unsettled state. Holland

was at the nod of England. Russia, in the then state of France and Spain, could think of no projects against England. For the United States to acknowledge the independence of South America was too obviously the interest of England for her to find fault of it. They detested the thought of that independence ; they wished the South Americans all at the devil ; but, there was danger in refusing to acknowledge that independence ; because, if England acknowledged it *first*, what an influence it would at once give her, and how she would throw into the back ground the dear sister republics of the North !

This was my plan ; and this the Congress saw. They saw the danger of being behindhand with England, in acknowledging the independence of the South American States, and forthwith they sent their inquiring scouts under the name of Commissioners. They detested the idea of independence : they could not find in their hearts to acknowledge that, till they were actually forced ; and yet, they must do *something* ; they must be *prepared*, lest *England should be before them*. They, therefore, sent out their scouts and got into a sort of *half official intercourse* with the "*patriots*" in power ;



while their *scouts in England*, let them know what the wisdom of Whitehall and St. Stephen's was about.

This is a most curious matter! Finding from the reports of their scouts in England that the wisdom at Westminster was hatching nothing for them to fear, their scouts in South America, *carried on a protracted talk*. They never ceased to talk about acknowledging the independence of every one of the States; but for a long, long time, they never acknowledged any one of them. At last, however, their *newspapers* communicated to the *State of Buenos Ayres*, that its independence was acknowledged by the United States. The State of "Columbia" had the great joy to see in the Washington demi-official newspapers, a similar announcement. Would you believe it, Gentlemen, this has been a sheer, an unqualified, a premeditated LIE! We, in England, have believed that an acknowledgment of Buenos Ayres had taken place, at any rate. The people and the Government of Buenos Ayres have believed the same thing, until within these two months. But, it now turns out, that there has been no such thing as an official acknowledgment; that the scouts,

dignified with the name of Commissioners, have been, at once, *hucksterers* and *spies*; getting commercial preferences and advantages in exchange for professions of friendship, and for promises to acknowledge independence, and finding out, at the same time, all the secrets of the men in power, the extent of their means, and in ascertaining what ought to be done to thwart their views, and to bring their countries again under the dominion of the Bourbons.

The intelligence relating to the non-acknowledgment of Buenos Ayres, on the part of the United States, has reached London about a week, through the papers of New York. Our statesman of the Courier newspaper, in remarking upon this intelligence, says, "One thing, does, indeed, seem **MOST EXTRAORDINARY**; viz. That **NO OFFICIAL INTIMATION OF THE RECOGNITION**, had been made to the Executive of Buenos Ayres; the only knowledge the latter had of it, being derived merely from the **"PUBLIC JOURNALS"**!"

Well done, Jonathan! There you have fairly outwitted Whitehall, the collective wisdom of St. Stephen's, and the "Sister Re-

public of Buenos Ayres," at the same time. You have not outwitted me; because I had nothing but the English newspapers to guide me; and they talked of the acknowledgment so long, as of a matter of which nobody doubted; and the Buenos Ayres people in their newspapers talked of it, too, so long, that I do not look upon myself as having been *outwitted* by you any more than I look upon myself as being outwitted by a fellow that palms a lie upon me, by the means of a false oath. Not in this situation, however, are our pretty fellows at Whitehall. They make us pay more to an ambassador in your country than you pay to your President. They keep a whole tribe of consuls in your country. They lay out fifty thousand pounds in a year to get other nations' secrets; and their demi-official newspaper, when it hears, through yourself, (for it finds it out through no other means), when it finds from yourself, that you have not, even at the end of six years, acknowledged any independence at all; when this demi-official newspaper hears you avow this, at last, it exclaims, this is *most extraordinary*! So that there can be very little doubt, that these pretty fellows at Whitehall have been actually believing for years, that you had acknowledged the independence!

Here, Gentlemen of Herefordshire, is a pretty state of things! But this is not quite all, for, it appears, from this intelligence, that the United States *newspapers* have deceived the Buenos Ayres Government by stating that a Mr. RODNEY was *actually appointed to be ENVOY at Buenos Ayres*. Curious it is, Gentlemen,

that the hoaxed Government of Buenos Ayres found out about two months ago, that Mr. RODNEY was in *Old Spain*! Bravo, Jonathan! It was so natural in *you*! It was so native! There was so much *simplicity*, so much of that SIMPLE VIRTUE which dogmatical MONTESQUIEU calls the characteristic of republics. This virtue was so manifest in the act of sending the Republican RODNEY to see which way things turned in Old Spain, before he actually ventured on his envoyship in Buenos Ayres.

Gentlemen, you who heard the foul calumnies of SMYTHIES and DAVIES, does not this open to your view the load of disgrace, or of expense, which must be the consequence of my advice not having been followed? In this movement of Mr. RODNEY, do you not see a proof of the insincerity of the United States, as to this matter? But, indeed, we have no right to blame them. It is for every nation to do the best that it can for itself, notwithstanding the novel and childish doctrine of each nation in the world profiting from the *prosperity of every other nation*. The independence of South America must be prevented; or, the United States must sink into next to nothing. Rather than this, they must, and they will, join with French, Spaniards, Russians, Turks, Algerines, Hottentots, Blacks of Heyti, or Blacks in Barbadoes or Jamaica. And, Gentlemen, I declare to you, in the most solemn manner, my firm belief, that Mr. RODNEY's business in Spain has been to consult with the French and the Russians *as to the effectual means of preventing the independence of South*



*America.* It is to deceive one's self most grossly. It is to abuse one's own understanding to suffer one's self to believe that the United States will not pursue that which they deem to be most conducive to their own interests. The President of America recommended, in one of his speeches, the acknowledging of the independence of Buenos Ayres. Soon after that, the Washington newspapers contained an account of the nomination of an envoy to Buenos Ayres! And, yet, it was all a deception! Nothing official ever took place; and there is Buenos Ayres not yet acknowledged. This is shocking meanness; it is despicable tricking; it is such conduct as no Government ought to be guilty of; it reflects disgrace on the whole people of the United States; but the disgrace is soon forgotten when the trick is followed by success.

Was it not, however, the business of our Government to discover the trick long ago? Instead of this, it really appears to have been acting upon the presumption, that the South American States *have been acknowledged* by the United States; instead of this, these latter have been shuffling backward and forward; sending Commissioners; sending Consuls, siding with the Republicans to-day, quarrelling with Lord Cochrane to-morrow; everlastingly talking about *liberty*, and continually carrying on a spy system for royalty. At last, things have so come about, that these dear "*sister republics*" can openly refuse to acknowledge the independence of the new States; and if they do not refuse, wonderful, indeed is the miracle that has been wrought in them.

It must be exceedingly mortifying, to those who have been accustomed to hold forth the United States as a balance in the scale against the despots of Europe; it must be exceedingly mortifying to such persons, to be compelled to acknowledge, that, of all their enemies, the very bitterest that the South American States will find, are their dear sisters of the North. The Editor of the Morning Chronicle, who, in every case except that touching the *interest of the Debt*, shows himself to be a sincere friend of what is truly called freedom. This writer has, upon numerous occasions, spoken of the United States as of the *immoveable friends* of South America. How must this gentleman have been mortified, then, when he saw, in the Courier newspaper of the 10th inst., that even the independence of Buenos Ayres was not acknowledged; and that the pretended envoy, Mr. RODNEY, was in Spain in company with POZZO DI BORGO, instead of being on his passage to Buenos Ayres! How great, I say, must this gentleman's mortification have been! We may judge of it by the fact of his *not having inserted the intelligence in the Morning Chronicle*. He could not insert it without a comment of his own; and what comment could he make, other than one containing severe reprobation of the conduct of his favourite Government?

Such, Gentlemen, is the state of the question relating to South America. Our safety requires that the Spanish Colonies, or that of Mexico, at least, should become perfectly independent. The interests of France, Spain and Russia, and the very existence of

the United States, as a great or even a respectable power, required that that independence should be prevented. Our Government, now that the difficulties are augmented a thousand fold, wishes to secure this independence. This wish comes into its heart, not after France has had time for restoring tranquillity at home; but after she has actually got into her possession the Government, the resources, and the ports of Spain; and after the United States have had time to create a most formidable navy.

Can any man believe that the independence of South America is now to be effected without war? Mind, if it be not effected, and particularly that of Mexico, this kingdom must become a miserable little power in a few years. I have shown before, and it must, I think, be evident to every one, that if we find nothing wherewith to put a stop to the increasing power of the United States, this country must sink. I know it can do nothing without *freeing the Irish*; and I heartily rejoice at it. There is nothing which I would not rather see befall the kingdom, than see the people of Ireland continue to be treated as they now are treated. This, therefore, is always to be understood, as making part of my opinion, as to this matter. I do not wish the nation to be preserved as a nation, unless the lot of Ireland be changed.

No change, however, no internal change that can be imagined, would preserve the power of the country for any length of time, without those measures with regard to the United States, of which I have been speaking

above. Gentlemen, take a map of America; look at the situation of the United States, and think of their natural resources. See the family of Bourbon once more in possession of Mexico and South America: think of fleets at Cadiz and at Brest, and think of other fleets at the mouth of the Mississippi, in the Chesapeake, at New York, and in the harbour of Boston. Can any man look at this picture, and can he believe, that, without paying tribute to some one, or to all of these powers, England will be suffered to hold a harbour or another square mile in the West Indies for another twenty years? "So much the better," says WILBERFORCE and his canting crew; but not so much the better says the man, who wishes to see England preserve her power, and who knows that these West India Colonies, the benefit of which have *not yet* been destroyed by the new-fashioned commercial philanthropy and huckstering policy; who knows that these West India Colonies keep constantly afloat upwards of a *hundred thousand tons of English shipping*.

This, however, is only *one way* in which England would be affected by the circumstances alluded to. Her maritime rights would be assailed from all quarters. She would meet with insults on every sea, and in every harbour. She must totally abandon her great protection, the *right of search*. In short, she must never attempt to draw the sword again. She must put up the coward's prayer, and say to the god of battles, "*Let there be no more fighting in the world.*" This, however, would not save her.



While she had any thing to be stripped of, stripping might suffice; but, much as she possesses, this ceremony would be soon over. Blows must come at last; and, as I said in my farewell address, when I went last to America, "It is hard to say how very low this country would be sunk in the scale of nations. It would become so humbled, so poverty-stricken, so feeble, so degraded, that it would, in a few years, not have the power, even if it had the inclination, to defend itself against any invader. The people would become the most beggarly and slavish of mankind; nothing would be left of England but the mere name, and that only, as it were, for the purpose of reminding the wretched inhabitants of the valour and public spirit of their fathers."

It is not to be believed that the independence of Mexico, to say nothing of the other new States, is to be achieved without our *open and direct encouragement and assistance*. I think it an extremely difficult enterprise, proceed in whatever manner we may. If there are any Church and King beasts who have a hand in it, it **MUST** fail. Without the assent of the Catholic Priests and Bishops, the enterprise must fail, even if we had a fleet of fifty sail of the line, and an army of two hundred thousand men, opposed by nothing but the bare intrigues of France. Yet, in the *Morning Chronicle* of this very day, I read that the French Government (now mark!) "during the absence of Pozzo di Borgo, has entertained a *different view*, from that of Russia,

of American independence, and that *French consuls and commercial agents*, are, forthwith, to proceed to represent *French interests* in the new *independent States* of that most valuable quarter of the earth." Here's infatuation! And if we find the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* talking thus, what are we to expect of persons in general! Only think of the French Government changing their opinion because the Russian Minister was absent from Paris! To be sure, the French may send out *consuls and commercial agents*; and under what character more plausible can they send out spies, and persons to intrigue against England, and against the independence of the States?

We can do nothing in South America, unless we have the priests on our side; and is it to be expected that we shall have these, while battles like that of Skibbereen are going on in Ireland? It must come to a fight at last; and do we believe that the Catholics of South America will fight on the side of a Government like that which has the mastership in Ireland? "Oh!" some one will say, "but the people of Mexico never heard of the battle of Skibbereen." It is not much further to Mexico than it is to Madrid; and we see that the writer of the *Gazette of Madrid* has heard enough and enough of the treatment of the Catholics of Ireland. I wish, almost above all other things in this world, to see Mexico an independent State; I see the vast importance of that independence; but, while Ireland is in its present state; while the Catholics of Ireland are treated

as they now are, the Catholics of Mexico would deserve to be utterly exterminated if they did not chase from their shores those who thus treat the Catholics of Ireland.

The day seems to be arrived, however, when this treatment can no longer be continued *with impunity*. The elements of destruction seem to be fast gathering around us; and, the hope of every just man is; and I believe, also, that the fact is, that no efficient measure of defence can be taken, without first doing justice, without first giving freedom to the Catholics of Ireland.

Now, Gentlemen, before I conclude, let me beg you to look back for a minute to the conduct of Parson SMYTHIES and Lawyer DAVIES. All the humiliating consequences which I have described, must come, unless *we be able to wage war*. Our enemies all know well that we are utterly unable to wage war, unless we reduce, and largely reduce, the interest of our Debt. In the consultations held at Petersburg, at Paris, and particularly at Washington, this argument, be you assured, is never forgotten. "Let her *keep that debt*," said one of the ministers at Washington in 1813, "Let her keep that debt, and she shall not have a West India Island, in twenty years' time." This, I was told (and I have no doubt of the fact), was said by one of the Ministers at Washington; and one too, who has been talked of for President.

Contemptible as SMYTHIES, DAVIES, and CHARLTON and CLIVE are, in my sight and in yours, they had the power to *batter* the matter at Hereford; and, backed by

the base London press, that most efficient part of the property of the Jews, they had the power to destroy, in a great measure, the excellent effect of the proceedings in Norfolk. This country is much too great, a great deal too much envied on account of her power and her dominions; she has been a great deal too much feared, and there exists much too strong a desire to pull her down, for proceedings like that at Hereford not to be duly noticed by foreign cabinets, and particularly at Washington, where they know well how to judge of all matters of this kind. "Let her keep that Debt," said the Washington statesman. So said, not the words, indeed, but the *conduct*, of the poor talentless, envious reptiles at Hereford; and, if she *keep that debt*, she must, in a few years, become the contempt and scorn of nations, that have hitherto trembled at her name. I am quite satisfied that what I here state will be fully verified, if the present men continue in power, and if the present System be pursued. One and the same newspaper, of the date of this very day, tells us that we have a *Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*, whom the gout has laid by the heels at Brompton; and, that we have a *great ambassador* (Lord GRENVILLE, formerly Lord LEVESON GOWER), who, we have been told, is destined to show South America the way to independence; we have this *great ambassador*, laid by the heels by the same barbarous tyrant, in Grosvenor Square! Gentlemen of Herefordshire, I mock not at the groans and cries of persons afflicted with the gout. I mention not the affliction of these gentlemen be-



cause their affliction gives me pleasure, but because it unfits them for those services which the country demands at their hands. This is not the sort of stuff to rescue a nation from dangers; and I have never known the time when this nation was in dangers so great as those with which it is at present surrounded.

Before I conclude, let me beg you, Gentlemen, to look back at the Petition which, as I said before, I re-published on the 8th of last month. It is impossible not to exclaim, at the close of such reading: "How different would the present state of this country have been, if the prayer of this petition had been attended to!" Those unborn wili, probably have to rue the day when France subjugated Spain, and took possession of Cadiz. What long, what expensive, and what bloody wars shall we have to carry on, in consequence of that subjugation! No truth that ever presented itself to the human mind can be more clear, than that that subjugation never could have taken place, if the advice of my petition had prevailed. There is the advice then: there is the proof that there was a man to see and to describe what ought to have been done. But this man the Ministers knew to be an enemy of corruption; and this man stupid SMYTHIES and DAVIES and CHARLTON and CLIVE discovered to want *the essential qualification of being born in Herefordshire!* Not a man in his senses can doubt that the nation must sink unless she stand boldly forward in an armed attitude. It is notorious that she is unable to do this, without largely reducing her Debt. The county of Norfolk

had given its sanction to this opinion. The county of Hereford was ready to do the same. It, in fact, *did do the same.* But SMYTHIES and DAVIES and CHARLTON and CLIVE, and the band of men by whom they were surrounded, unable to endure the thought of being flung back into that shade for which Nature designed them, contrived by the means of unmannered uproar, aided by a foul coalition, and ending in the creating of a degree of confusion that rendered every thing unintelligible; contrived, by these means to procure for themselves the gratification of setting the villanous London newspapers to represent me as having been defeated, a thing which they seemed to value more highly than if it had been a defeat of all those powers, who are now plotting the humiliation of their country. In short, Gentlemen, I am convinced, and I am satisfied that hundreds of thousands are convinced, that, if I had been a Member of Parliament, only three years ago, and had continued such, until this time, Spain never would have been invaded, and South America would now have been free. I should probably have had no direct power; but I hold it to be utterly impossible for me to have uttered in Parliament that which I have written, without producing the effects that I have described. I am further convinced, that these wretched things, SMYTHIES, DAVIES, CHARLTON, and CLIVE, have the same conviction in their minds; but, such is always the malice of conscious inferiority, of conscious dullness, of conscious and indescribable stupidity, that the de-

graded possessor will destroy all about him, and end with the destruction of himself rather than owe to superior talents, a becoming state of humble security, though it is that for which Providence manifestly made him.

The parties whom I have condescended to name, for the purpose of reminding you of their mischievous malevolence, are, some of them, pretty well stricken in years ; but, they, as well as I, are young enough to see the consequences of the transactions of this memorable year. Should the enemies of England succeed, in replacing the colonies of America under the dominion of the House of Bourbon, then will come the day of perils ; and when that day comes, I am satisfied that you will have the justice to remember that which has been now addressed to you by,

Your Brother Freeholder,  
Your Faithful Friend,  
And your most obedient Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

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### AMERICAN TREES.

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THE demand for these Trees has been such as I expected ; that is to say, *very great*.—Several gentlemen, who do not read the Register, and who have read *extracts*, in the newspapers, relative to the growth of the *Locust*, have written to me, to know *whether I have any of the plants, or seeds*.—Some one will write to these gentlemen for me ; but their best way will be to borrow of some friend the Registers of 29th November and of the 6th December.

—Several gentlemen have written to me to know if I can *keep the trees for them till the month of March*. This will be very inconvenient, on account of my want of room ; and for several other reasons, amongst which is, the great danger of mistakes, from the unacquaintance of my people with the business. I shall be very happy to oblige any body in this way that I can ; but this is what I would advise, because it is what I always did myself ; and because my plantations always succeeded. Let me (while it is in my head) observe that those pretty little creatures, the *hares*, are most destructive devils amongst young trees ; and that they are particularly fond of the *Locust*, which they will bark after they get to be as big as your leg. To advise any man who has hares to destroy them, I know to be in vain. But he may keep them out of his plantations pretty well ; and if he cannot do this, he had better not plant. This puts me in mind of a passage in *Thomson's Seasons*, in which the poet calls upon "Britain's youth" not to be so cruel as to pursue the timid *inoffensive* hare ; but to put forth all their "*generous ardour*," in order to destroy the "*nightly robber of the fold*."—What poor snivelling philosophy ! Pope would not have said this. The fox very seldom, if ever, robs the fold, and very rarely even the hen-roost. He lives chiefly upon wild animals, and amongst these you are to count great quantities of field-mice that he destroys ; while the hare is, indeed, the most timid ; but, except the rabbit, certainly the most mischievous animal in existence. She will cut you off



two or three hundred young trees in a night, out of mere sport. She will stand up upon her hind legs, nip off the leading shoot of a tree more than three feet from the ground, and this out of pure mischief, for she does not eat a bit of it. I once planted some small trees in rows very close together. The hares did more mischief amongst these trees in one single night, than the foxes had done in the hen-roosts of the farm in twenty years.—When people write about SEASONS, they should understand something about country affairs, and not be little sinecure place-men, pent up in London.—I now return to the keeping of Trees. I always proceeded thus. I prepared a piece of ground, if I had not enough in my garden. I got my trees in the fall, as near as possible to the spot where I wanted to plant them out. I laid them nicely by the heels, and *not too thick*; dug the ground *deep* as I laid them in. Made the earth very fine that I put amongst their roots; pressed the earth nicely down upon the roots. Made the rows about two feet asunder, in order to be able to walk between them; then, when my ground was quite ready in the Spring, I took them as they were wanted, and planted them out. This is what I would recommend to others. All my trees, at Kensington, are seedlings. They all ought to be put into a nursery for two years, except the Locusts, the Hickorys, and the Walnuts; and these may all be planted out at once. The Persimons and the Tulip-trees, though they grow so finely in two or three years' time, are poor little

miserable things now, and require to be very nicely put into a nursery. Rows, eighteen inches apart, and about six inches apart in the row. I should not sell some of these sorts, on account of their smallness, if I could conveniently give them place next Summer. However, if gentlemen have them now, and are not afraid of *over-working their gardeners*, or of robbing them of a few rods of that ground on which they usually raise so many wagon loads of cabbages and lettuces to be flung away; if gentlemen be afraid of neither of these, why not buy the trees small, and let them grow up under their own eye? As to sowing the seed, that <sup>^</sup>would, I am aware, be an *innovation* little short of a revolution in horticulture; and, gentlemen have seen too much of the "sad effects of" "revolution in a neighbouring" "country."—I would recommend, for the sake of *safety*, the taking of the trees away as soon as we can get them ready, as long as the weather continues open; for I shall, by no means, attempt to move them, if there be frost.—I hope that all letters will be answered before the end of this week; but, if they shou'd not, all the gentlemen that have written to me, and whose letters I have received, shall be supplied with the number of trees that they have written for. If I cannot furnish them all of the *classes* required, I shall come as near to it as I can.—I must say that I feel great satisfaction and great pride at the interest that I have been able to excite, as to this important matter. It is now much about eighteen years since I first entertained the wish and

the design to introduce this timber into England. Sometimes it was driven out of my head for two or three years together. My trees at Botley often reminded me of it; but when I was in America this last time, I began to think that it was high time to set seriously about the business. This, after all, will be the greatest work of my life. I know it will *change the face of this country*. And when I say this country, I include Scotland and Ireland. It will be utterly impossible that men should suffer elms and willows and limes and birches and such like rubbish to occupy the ground where a locust will stand. I should like to see the thing tried; and if any gentleman will find the land, I will give the seed or the plants or something: I should like to see a plantation made, in which the locust would be pitted against the rascally Scotch fir. My real opinion is, that the locust would beat the firs, even upon Bagshot Heath. I should very much like to see the thing tried; and, if any gentleman, have a mind, let him write to me on the subject. I mean to do it upon a *small scale*, of course. Those gentlemen who have not read the two Registers in which I have spoken of these trees and of their growth, may see a *window sill*, at the Office of the Register, and they will please to observe that that sill was cut out of the limb of a tree which was only *seven inches through*. This tree, as I observed before, *grew at Fulham*. I have sent about two hundred little blocks of the wood as specimens, to be given to any gentleman who may call at the Office, or to be sent into the country. These blocks all come

out of a tree grown at Fulham. I have only one small piece that came from America, and that is intended to make stocks for the wheels of a mail-coach. I have sent some pieces of the wood (grown at Fulham, mind,) to be made into **RULES**, and thus to supply the place of *box*. Now, if it should supply the place of box (and I am satisfied it will do it perfectly well), how beneficial to the country, the cultivation of this tree; for, observe, a large sum of money is sent out of the country every year to pay for the box-wood that comes from *Italy* and the *Levant*! — The *Botanical* name of the *Locust* is, **ROBINIA PSEUDO ACASIA**. There are about *fifteen sorts* of this tree; some with very small leaves, some with narrow and pointed leaves, and others larger and *more round*. That which the Americans call the *Locust*, has rather a round leaf. There are as many of these trees now standing in **KEW GARDENS**, as are worth, I should think, **TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS**! And that, perhaps, is five times the worth of all the rest of the trees in those gardens. I saw them in full leaf last summer, and they are of the true *Locust*. The *Tamarind*-tree is a *Locust*; and the fruit or *pod* of it was eaten by *John the Baptist*. There is one *Locust* in America, that bears a pod and fruit precisely of the *shape* and *size* of the *Tamarind*; and the pod has, when the seed is getting ripe, a sweet glutinous matter in it. This is called the *Honey Locust*. The wood is as good as that of this *Locust*; but, the tree does not grow any thing like so fast, nor does it attain to such a size.



## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I PROMISED, in my last, to do a great many things, which I have not room now to do. I was so strongly impressed with the importance of the subject of my letter to the Yeomen of Herefordshire, that I could not refrain from devoting to it the greater part of my room; and I cannot now refrain from beseeching my readers to think seriously of the matters treated of in that letter. I beg them to recollect, that there is not, in the whole world, a nation that does not desire to see us pulled down. I beg them to recollect that a nation so great never yet maintained its lofty station except it openly, boldly and perseveringly, and as a matter of course, assumed and maintained a tone of *mastership*. I beg them once more to think of what I have said about the United States. Towards that country, as well as towards the family of Bourbon, there is *one line* for England to pursue; one line both *safe* and *efficient*; and *only that one*. It would be worse than useless, to be, at present, *more explicit*. To *describe* it, and *not pursue* it, would be mischievous; and it is *sure* not to be pursued by the men, at present, in power. This much I will say, however, that if Mr. CANNING will make *me* the master of the "*inkstand*" for only eight-and-forty hours (and, upon my word, I should

have no desire to possess it any longer), I would treat Monsieur de CHATEAUBRIAND and Mr. MUNRO to an epistle apiece that should make them feel more *cool* and much more *modest* than they appear to have felt for a very considerable length of time.

## POSTSCRIPT.

(17th December)

Since the above was written, I have received *some Apples* from America. I shall send specimens to a dozen or two of persons, and deposit a basket full to be seen in Fleet-street. There are several of the Fall Pippins, each of which weighs a pound; though they have lost much of their weight by the heat of the vessel. The Fall Pippins were rotten in the proportion of about nine out of ten; the Newtown Pippins, and other apples, not in so great a proportion; but all, as I observed in a Register some time back, have lost much of their flavour, and particularly the Fall Pippins, which were dead ripe in October. It is impossible, however, to *see* these apples, without wishing to make the like grow in England. To get them quite so fine without a *wall*, is not to be expected; but who would not, if he were able, employ a wall for the purpose?

I have, myself, left, this day, two of these Fall Pippins and three Newtown Pippins, at the Rooms of the Horticultural Society, in London.

## MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 6th December.

Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat .....	51	10
Rye .....	32	0
Barley .....	28	4
Oats .....	21	7
Beans .....	36	0
Peas .....	34	8

*Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.*

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 6th December.

Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat 7,485 for 20,459	0	6	Average, 54	8	
Barley 5,111	7,285	19	8	28	6
Oats 7,529	9,126	6	7	24	2
Rye 30	51	16	0	34	6
Beans 1,658	3,151	4	2	38	0
Peas 1,369	2,456	8	5	35	10

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Dec. 8 to Dec. 13, inclusive.

Wheat...10,112	Pease...3,647
Barley...8,017	Tares..... 10
Malt ....8,724	Linseed.... —
Oats....15,128	Rape ..... 16
Rye ..... 59	Brank..... 33
Beans....3,080	Mustard... 80

Various Seeds, 281; and Hemp, 100 qrs.—Flour, 18,682 sacks.

From Ireland.—Oats, 2,410 qrs.

Foreign.—Linseed, 830 qrs.

Friday, Dec. 12.—The arrivals of all sorts of Corn since Monday have been good. Wheat has sold freely at 2s. per quarter advance on

the prices of Monday last. Barley sells heavily at last quotations. Beans and Peas find buyers on the same terms as at the beginning of this week. Oats find buyers readily, and support the rates quoted on Monday.

Monday, Dec. 15.—There was a very large arrival of all descriptions of Grain last week, also a considerable quantity of Flour. This morning the fresh supplies of all sorts of Grain are short. The top price of Flour being established at 55s. per sack, with a good sale for that article, has occasioned a free trade for Wheat to-day, and the stands are nearly cleared, at an advance on the prices of this day se'nnight of 3s. to 4s. per qr.

There being some demand for Barley to ship from hence, has occasioned this article to experience a rise of full 2s. per quarter on the terms quoted last Monday. Beans being short in quantity to-day, have risen 1s. per quarter. Grey Peas are 1s. per quarter dearer. Boiling Peas have advanced 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Oats find a ready sale, and obtain full as good terms as this day se'nnight, and such parcels as are perfectly dry obtain rather more money. Rye as a substitute for Coffee is further advanced 6s. to 8s. per quarter.

Flour, per sack .....	50s. to 55s.
— Seconds .....	45s. — 48s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 44s.



## COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load ....	11l.	0s.	16l.	15s.
Aylesbury... ditto .....	10l.	0s.	14l.	0s.
Newbury .....	36	0	—	72 0
Reading .....	42	0	—	63 0
Henley .....	38	0	—	63 0
Banbury .....	44	0	—	54 0
Devizes .....	44	0	—	68 0
Warminster .....	44	0	—	66 0
Sherborne .....	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load ...	10l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Exeter, per bushel ....	8	0	—	8 6
Lewes .....	0	0	—	0 0
Guildford, per load ....	0l.	0s.	0l.	0s.
Winchester, ditto ....	10l.	10s.	17l.	0s.
Basingstoke .....	44	0	—	68 0
Chelmsford, per load ..	9l.	0s.	14l.	10s.
Yarmouth .....	48	0	—	54 0
Hungerford .....	42	0	—	64 0
Lynn .....	36	0	—	50 0
Horncastle .....	42	0	—	52 0
Stamford .....	40	0	—	57 0
Northampton .....	42	0	—	53 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	21	0	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel ....	8	0	—	0 0
Nottingham .....	47	6	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	48	0	—	60 0
Newcastle .....	36	0	—	60 0
Dalkeith, per boll * ....	18	0	—	29 0
Haddington, ditto* .....	23	6	—	33 0

\* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Dec. 9.—The importations have been few, as may be observed in the annexed list of arrivals since this day se'nnight, and the demand for every description of Grain since Tuesday last was very feeble throughout the last week. The market of this day having been but sparingly attended by dealers, I have no alteration to note from the prices last quoted, beyond that of there being a plentiful supply of Flour in the market, this article has declined in value 2s. per sack.

Imported into Liverpool, from the 2d to the 8th December 1823 inclusive:—Wheat, 1,006; Oats, 3,329; Barley, 801; and Malt, 30 quarters. Oatmeal, 24 packs, per 240 lbs. Flour, 240 sacks.

Norwich, Dec. 13.—Owing to the advance during the week at Mark-lane, expectations were raised of higher prices here to-day than were realized, the news of Friday's market having rather thrown a damp on the trade. Wheat fetched from 46s. to 54s.; (superior things a trifle more); Barley, 26s. to 29s. per qr.; other sorts in proportion.

Bristol, Dec. 13.—Very little variation appears in the prices of Corn in our markets since this day week. Supply still continues moderate. —Best Wheat from 7s. 9d. to 8s.; inferior ditto, 5s. to 6s. 6d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 4s.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 2s. 10d.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 30s. to 45s. per bag.

Birmingham, Dec. 11.—We have an increased demand for Wheat and Flour to-day; the former at an advance of about 3d. per 60 lbs., and the latter 1s. to 2s. per sack. For Wheat the demand lies more particularly on Old, the supply of which is short; there is plenty of New at market, and much of it of fine and dry quality. There is no lack of Flour. A good show of Barley; sales limited, and prices 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower. Other articles of the trade without variation. Prices:—Old Wheat, 6s. 10d. to 7s. 4d., and New, 6s. 2d. to 6s. 6d. per 60 lbs.; Barley, 26s. to 30s. per quarter; Malt, 6s. 6d. to 7s. per bushel; Oats, 22s. to 30s. per qr.; Beans, 14s. 6d. to 16s. per 10 scores; Peas, 36s. to 48s. per quarter. Fine Flour, 42s. to 45s.; and Seconds, 38s. to 40s. per sack.

Ipswich, Dec. 13.—Our market to-day was well supplied with all

Grain, and every thing was dearer. Prices as follow:—Old Wheat, 54s. to 62s.; New ditto, 44s. to 56s.; Barley, 22s. to 31s.; Beans, 32s. to 34s.; Peas, 31s.; and Oats, 20s. to 24s. per quarter.

*Wisbech*, Dec. 13.—Our market was rather brisk in the sale of dry samples of Wheat, which fetched from 50s. to 54s. per quarter. No apparent advance on second sorts. Beans and Oats rather brisk in demand at a small advance.

*Wakefield*, Dec. 12.—We have a good supply of all kinds of Grain for the season; but having many buyers, fine Wheats, both new and old, are ready sale at an advance of full 2s. per quarter; secondary and inferior samples also go off at rather better prices.—No alteration in Mealing Oats; but Shelling may be noted full 1s. per load higher.—Malting Barley of every description is more in demand, and may be noted 1s. per quarter higher.—No alteration in Malt, Beans, Peas, Flour, or Rapeseed.

### COUNTRY

#### CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

At *Morpeth* market on Wednesday, there was a very great supply of Cattle and Sheep; being many buyers, fat sold readily at a little advance in price.—Beef from 4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d.; and Mutton 4s. to 5s. 3d. per stone, sinking offals.

*Banbury* Great Market last week was well supplied with Beef. There was also as full a supply of Mutton as is usually penned at this market. Beef made from 4½d. to 5d. per lb., prime 6d. but the sale was not brisk. Mutton was also dull sale, and late prices barely supported.

*Norwich Castle Meadow*, Dec. 13.—The trade much the same as for some weeks past, viz. from 3s. 6d. to 5s. per stone for lean Bullocks.

The weather continuing open, is highly favourable to the diminished and diminishing Turnip crop.

*Horncastle*, Dec. 13.—Beef 5s. to 6s. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton 4d. to 5d.; Pork 5d. to 5½d.; and Veal 6d. to 7d. per lb.

*Bristol*, Dec. 11.—Beef at 5d. to 6d.; Mutton 5d. to 5½d.; and Pork 4½d. to 5d. per lb. sinking offal.

City, 17 December 1823.

### BACON.

There is very little demand for consumption just now; and upon the whole the trade is dull.—On board, 45s. to 46s.—Landed, 48s. to 50s.—Pork, landed, 46s. to 50s.

### BUTTER.

There are no buyers, except amongst those who are in want; and they are very reluctant to give the present prices. It is well known that the retailers can make no profit; and as the failures amongst them continue to go on, the wholesale dealers are out of heart at the prospect before them.—On board: Carlow, 90s. to 92s.—Belfast, 88s. to 90s.—Dublin, 86s.—Waterford, 84s. to 85s.—Limerick, 84s.—Cork, 86s.—Landed: Carlow, 90s. to 93s.—Belfast, 90s.—Dublin, 86s.—Waterford, 84s. to 85s.—Limerick, 84s.—Cork, 84s. to 85s.—N. B. To estimate the cost landed, you must add 3s. per cwt. to the price on board.



## CHEESE.

Fine Old Cheshire, 78s. to 84s.; Middling, 66s. to 74s.; New, 56s. to 64s.—Double Gloucester, 60s. to 64s.; Single, 46s. to 60s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at from 7d. to 9d.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 15.

*Great Christmas Market.*—On Friday, Beef and Mutton were about the same as reported in our last; though the latter was rather a heavy trade. Some few Beast were lucky enough to meet with good customers, at high prices, but that is always the case at this season of the year, and cannot apply to the general trade. To-day there is the largest shew of Beast ever known, exceeding, as we hear in the market, (we have not time to refer,) any former Christmas market by 700 head. As expected, there was an extraordinary quantity of good Beef; prime Norfolks, and such like, sold freely at 4s. 8d. per stone; and more money for any thing thought extraordinary, or that might suit the fancy. There are fanciful customers even here sometimes. Mutton is a brisk trade at an advance; and though we go no higher than 4s. 4d. yet some choice pens have gone a shade beyond. From the crowded state of the mar-

ket, there is an unusual difficulty in getting the Beast out; their heads are battered by two or three drovers at a time, and their eyes in numerous instances knocked out; and this from sheer necessity; but the evil is greatly aggravated by the passage of carriages on such a day—it is much to be reprobated, and loudly calls for an alteration.

*Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).*

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef .....	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton .....	3	8	—	4 4
Veal .....	4	8	—	6 0
Pork .....	4	4	—	5 2
Beasts ...	4,872		Sheep ...	20,120
Calves ....	160		Pigs .....	220

NEWGATE (same day).

*Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).*

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef .....	2	8	to	3 8
Mutton .....	2	6	—	3 6
Veal .....	3	0	—	5 0
Pork .....	3	4	—	5 4

LEADENHALL (same day).

*Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).*

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef .....	2	0	to	3 4
Mutton .....	2	6	—	3 6
Veal .....	3	4	—	5 0
Pork .....	3	0	—	5 0

## POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—*per Ton.*

Ware .....	£ 2	5	to	£ 4	0
Middlings .....	1	15	—	2	0
Chats .....	1	15	—	0	0
Common Red ..	0	0	—	0	0
Onions ..	0s.	0d.	—	0s.	0d. per bush.

**BOROUGH.—per Ton.**

Ware.....	£2 5 to £3 10
Middlings.....	1 15 — 2 0
Chats.....	1 10 — 1 15
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0
Onions..	0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

**HAY and STRAW, per Load.**

<i>Smithfield.</i> —Hay ..	75s. to 100s.
Straw...	32s. to 40s.
Clover...	80s. to 115s.
<i>St. James's.</i> —Hay....	63s. to 110s.
Straw...	30s. to 42s.
Clover...	80s. to 115s.
<i>Whitechapel.</i> —Hay....	88s. to 105s.
Straw...	36s. to 42s.
Clover...	90s. to 126s.

**Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.**

Monday, Dec. 15.—Our Hop market is gradually improving for

Pockets of the growth of 1821 and 1822, and New fully keep their prices. Accounts from Middle Kent state, a great many dead hills are found upon digging the ground, which have caused an increased demand for Cullings to replace them, but which will not come into bearing till the third year; if this proves general, it will make the holders soon ask higher prices. Currency:—New, 8*l.* 8*s.* to 14*l.*; 1822, 8*l.* to 10*l.*; 1821, 9*s.* to 11*s.*; Old, 60*s.* to 84*s.*

*Maidstone*, Dec. 11.—There were a few lots of Hops offered at this day's market, but the trade continuing so extremely dull we could not hear of any sales being effected.

**COAL MARKET, Dec. 12.**

<i>Ships at Market.</i>	<i>Ships sold.</i>	<i>Price.</i>
74½ Newcastle..	22..	36 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> to 45 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
74½ Sunderland..	22..	36 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> —45 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>